

Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-15

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

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EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT LONDON 6892 ACTION SECSTATE APR 27.

QUOTE S E C R E T LONDON 6892

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY, HABIB AND SCHAUFLE FROM LAKE

PLEASE PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR AARON

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, RH, UK

SUBJECT: US-UK TALKS ON RHODESIA - APRIL 27

1. TODAY'S TALKS WENT WELL. WE COVERED THE AGENDA AND
MADE ALL THE POINTS WE HAD INTENDED. WHILE HARDLY OVER-
JOYED ABOUT OUR INABILITY TO PROCEED IMMEDIATELY WITH AN
SECRET

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ANNOUNCEMENT OF FULL AMERICAN PARTICIPATION IN A CON-
STITUTIONAL CONFERENCE OR THE DIFFICULTIES WE ARE HAVING
WITH CONGRESS ON THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND, BRITISH
OFFICIALS ACCEPTED OUR ESSENTIALLY POSITIVE APPROACH AND
AGREED GENERALLY WITH OUR ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION--
INCLUDING THE PIVOTAL ROLE OF THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS
IF ONE OR MORE OF THE NATIONALISTS WERE TO REFUSE TO
ATTEND A CONFERENCE.

2. THEY--GRAHAM, MANSFIELD AND OTHER FCO STAFF--WILL BE

REPORTING TO OWEN TOMORROW MORNING, AND WE WILL THEN MEET AGAIN. IT IS CLEAR THAT WHILE WE AND THEY ARE ON MUCH THE SAME WAVELENGTH, THEY ARE NOT SURE THAT OWEN WILL ACCEPT THEIR VIEWS. WE MADE IT CLEAR THAT WE TOO WERE SPEAKING AD REFERENDUM.

3. THE PRINCIPAL SECTIONS OF A MINUTE DRAFTED BY THE BRITISH AND AMENDED SLIGHTLY BY US FOLLOWS. YOU WILL NOTE THAT WE DEVELOPED TOGETHER A RATHER DIFFERENT POSSIBLE APPROACH (POINT B). THE THREE OF US BELIEVE THAT THIS APPROACH, BASICALLY GRAHAM'S IDEA. COULD HAVE CONSIDERABLE ADVANTAGES, SINCE IT WOULD ALLOW US TO SHOW SUPPORT FOR THE BRITISH AND MAINTAIN MOMENTUM BUT WOULD NOT PLUNGE US INTO JOINT BILATERALS WITH THE AFRICANS OR THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF A CONFERENCE WHICH THE AFRICANS MIGHT REJECT.

4. BEGIN TEXT:

US ROLE

THE AMERICANS ARE PREPARED TO PLAY WHATEVER ROLE WILL MOST USEFULLY ADVANCE MATTERS. MR. VANCE AGREED ON 1 APRIL TO CO-SPONSOR A CONFERENCE AT WHICH THE US WOULD DIRECTLY PARTICIPATE, SEND A STRONG DELEGATION AND SPEAK AT PLENARY SESSIONS. INITIAL INDICATIONS FROM THE NATIONALISTS, PARTICULARLY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, CALL INTO QUESTION WHETHER A CONFERENCE CAN BE ORGANIZED AT THIS SECRET

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STAGE WITH THE AMERICANS PLAYING SUCH A ROLE. THE PROBLEM THEN IS WHETHER TO GO AHEAD ON THE ORIGINAL BASIS AND RISK AN OUTRIGHT REBUFF (AS NOW SEEMS LIKELY) OR TO SEEK A FORMULA WHICH PRESERVES THE CONCEPT OF EVIDENT DIRECT US INVOLVEMENT WHILST STILL DEFINING US PARTICIPATION IN WAYS THAT THE AFRICANS CAN ACCEPT AND THE ILLEGAL REGIME FINDS ATTRACTIVE. THE US ARE NOT WILLING TO GO AHEAD WITH THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF A CONFERENCE INVOLVING FULL AMERICAN PARTICIPATION OR JOINT BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS SO LONG AS THE AFRICANS CLEARLY HAVE DOUBTS ABOUT SUCH A US ROLE. IMMEDIATE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE AFRICANS TO ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE THESE DOUBTS WOULD BE NECESSARY BEFORE A DECISION IS TAKEN ON PROCEEDING IN THIS WAY.

NEXT STEPS

THE RESULTS OF DR. OWEN'S MISSION HAVE SATISFIED BOTH GOVERNMENTS THAT THEY SHOULD PURSUE THEIR EFFORTS TO IMPLEMENT THE NEW STRATEGY THROUGH THE NEGOTIATION OF AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION, AND SHOULD MAINTAIN MOMENTUM IN FOLLOWING THIS COURSE. IN THE LIGHT OF THE ATTITUDES OF THE PARTIES THE TWO IMMEDIATE OPTIONS, WHICH ARE NOT MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE, ARE:

A) A ROUND OF PRELIMINARY SOUNDINGS TO CLARIFY AFRICAN ATTITUDES TO US INVOLVEMENT TO BE COMPLETED BEFORE 6 MAY (WHEN DR. OWEN AND MR. VANCE WILL NEXT

BE MEETING) WITH A VIEW TO A DECISION TO ANNOUNCE A CONFERENCE;
B) FOR THE UK TO PROCEED WITH BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE NATIONALISTS AND THE ILLEGAL REGIME ABOUT THE CONTENT OF A CONSTITUTION IN THE HOPE OF ENCOURAGING THEM IN MATTERS OF SUBSTANCE;
AND FOR THE US TO PLAY A COMPLEMENTARY ROLE THROUGH SUPPORTIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE AFRICANS, TAKING PART TO AN APPROPRIATE EXTENT WITH THE UK AND PARTICIPATING AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME IN A CONFERENCE. THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF SUCH AN APPROACH COULD NOTE THAT THIS PROCESS WOULD LOOK TO THE HOLDING OF A CONFERENCE.

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STITUTIONAL CONFERENCE.
WHICHEVER COURSE IS ADOPTED THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS AND MR. VORSTER SHOULD BE KEPT INFORMED.

THE ADVANTAGES OF (A), IF IT WORKS ARE:

- THE MAINTENANCE OF MOMENTUM
- THE MAINTENANCE OF THE CONCEPT OF FULL US INVOLVEMENT

THE DISADVANTAGES ARE:

- THE AFRICANS MAY BE CONSOLIDATED IN THEIR OBJECTIONS, THE PROCESS MAY BE PROLONGED AND MOMENTUM MAY THUS BE LOST.
- IT WILL FOCUS ATTENTION ON THE US ROLE AS A PIVOTAL POINT.
- IF WE ARE TO SHIFT THE AFRICANS WE WOULD PROBABLY HAVE TO ACCEPT SOME DEROGATION FROM FULL US PARTICIPATION AS ORIGINALLY ENVISAGED.

THE ADVANTAGES OF (B) ARE

- IT COULD BE PUT INTO OPERATION QUICKLY AND THUS SERVE TO MAINTAIN MOMENTUM.
- IT WILL NOT CONFRONT THE NATIONALISTS WITH A TAKE IT OR LEAVE IT CHOICE.
- IT WILL NOT REQUIRE THE US TO BACK OFF.
- IT WILL FOCUS IMMEDIATELY ON THE MAIN QUESTION OF AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND THUS SHOW OUR SINCERITY IN TRYING TO ACHIEVE MAJORITY RULE IN 1978.
- IT COULD GET THE US INVOLVED IN WAYS TO WHICH THE AFRICANS WOULD HAVE DIFFICULTY OBJECTING.

IF COURSE (B) IS PURSUED THERE ARE TWO PRACTICAL QUESTIONS TO BE DECIDED:

- (A) ON THE NATURE OF AN ANNOUNCEMENT, AND
- (B) ON HOW THE US CAN BEST BE MESHED INCREASINGLY INTO THE BRITISH APPROACHES TO THE PARTIES, AS THE PROCESS PROCEEDS. FOR EXAMPLE, THROUGH CONTINUOUSLY CLOSER WORK WITH A BRITISH LIAISON OFFICE BASED IN DAR ES SALAAM

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THESE QUESTIONS COULD BEST BE HANDLED BY MAINTAINING CLOSE TOUCH THROUGH OUR EMBASSIES IN LONDON AND WASHINGTON OVER THE NEXT WEEK. END TEXT

5. OTHER POINTS OF INTEREST:

--THEY HAD PREPARED A PAPER ON BOTH PROCEDURAL AND SUBSTANTIVE QUESTIONS TO WHICH WE HAD A NUMBER OF OBJECTIONS. THEY WILL BE REVISING IT IN THE LIGHT OF THOSE OBJECTIONS AND GIVING IT TO US THROUGH THEIR EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON, FOR OUR COMMENT. (THE PAPER AS ORIGINALLY DRAFTED ASSUMED THAT THE US SHARES WITH THE UK THE RIGHT TO IMPOSE THE DETAILS OF A CONSTITUTION FOR RHODESIA AND COULD ACT ON THAT RIGHT.)

--THE BRITISH EXPECT TO ACT THROUGH THE LIAISON OFFICE THEY HAD MENTIONED PREVIOUSLY IN CARRYING OUT THE FORMAL BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE AFRICANS. ALTHOUGH THEY MIGHT STILL ESTABLISH SOME SORT OF SMALL SUBSIDIARY OFFICE IN SALISBURY FOR THE PURPOSE OF SECURE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC., THEY TOOK OUR POINTS ABOUT BASING THE OPERATION THERE. THEY LEAN TOWARDS DAR ES SALAAM OVER LUSAKA, IN VIEW OF THE PROBLEMS MUZOREWA MIGHT HAVE WITH LUSAKA AND BECAUSE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IS MOVING ITS HEADQUARTERS TO DAR.

--IT IS CLEAR THAT THEY HAVE NOT THOUGHT THROUGH VERY CAREFULLY WHAT THEY MEAN BY "LOGISTICAL SUPPORT" FOR A PEACEKEEPING FORCE, BUT MENTIONED OFF-HAND SUCH THINGS AS SETTING UP A "MAINTENANCE AND ORDNANCE BASE", PROVIDING TRANSPORTATION OF SUPPLIES AND/OR PERSONNEL, AND MAINTAINING A RAIL HEAD OUTSIDE RHODESIA. WE SAID WE WOULD TRY TO THINK IT THROUGH OURSELVES, AND PERHAPS DEVELOP GENERAL GUIDELINES. WE REITERATED THE POINT ABOUT NO TROOPS AND THE NECESSITY OF CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL FOR ANYTHING WE DID.

--THEY AGREED IN PRINCIPLE THAT WE SHOULD ESTABLISH SECRET

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SOME SORT OF JOINT PLANNING EFFORT TO CONSIDER BOTH IMMEDIATE ACTIONS ON TIGHTENING CURRENT SANCTIONS AND TO START TO THINK ABOUT HOW TO HANDLE FUTURE PRESSURES FOR NEW MEASURES AT THE UN. THEY REITERATED THEIR OPPOSITION TO EXTENSION OF CHAPTER 7 SANCTIONS TO SOUTH AFRICA OVER RHODESIA, NAMIBIA OR, OF COURSE, APARTHEID ITSELF. WE STATED OUR OWN CONCERN OVER SUCH SANCTIONS, BUT DID NOT FORECLOSE OUR FINAL POSITION. WE EMPHASIZED THE NEED, HOWEVER, TO START THINKING ABOUT HOW WE WOULD HANDLE PRESSURES IN THAT DIRECTION AND ABOUT OTHER MEASURES THAT COULD BE TAKEN IN SUCH A SITUATION.

--GRAHAM SAID OWEN IS CONSIDERING INVITING NKOMO AND MUGABE TO LONDON TO SEE HIM AROUND MAY 6-8 AND MIGHT SUGGEST THAT SECRETARY VANCE SEE THEM, ALSO, IN A SEPARATE MEETING. WE INFORMED GRAHAM THAT NKOMO HAD EXPRESSED AN INTEREST IN SEEING THE SECRETARY AND THAT WE WOULD BE INCLINED TO RECOMMEND THIS TO THE SECRETARY, TIME PERMITTING, SINCE HE HAD ALREADY SEEN MUZOREWA.

6. GRAHAM, MANSFIELD AND WE MET SEPARATELY WITH TED ROWLANDS FOR ALMOST AN HOUR. HE CONVEYED MORE INTENSELY THEIR POLITICAL CONCERN AT KEEPING THE US "SHOULDER-TO-SHOULDER" WITH THEM. WE EMPHASIZED OUR ESSENTIAL POINT THAT WE ARE NOT SUDDENLY GETTING COLD FEET BUT THAT THE REACTIONS OF THE AFRICANS REQUIRE US TO THINK THROUGH ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES THAT CAN ALLOW US TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE. WHILE UNDERSTANDING THIS POINT, HE EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE UNITED STATES SEEKING AFRICAN AGREEMENT TO AS FULL AN AMERICAN PARTICIPATION AS POSSIBLE.

7. IN VIEW OF SCHEDULING DIFFICULTIES, THERE HAD BEEN NO PLAN FOR US TO SEE DR. OWEN. HOWEVER, GRAHAM MAY SEEK SUCH A MEETING FOR TOMORROW MORNING.

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SPIERS UNQUOTE VANCE

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